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Three papers were presented at a seminar which identified problems in migrant education. Dr. Jess Walker from the Department of Teacher Education at Western Michigan University emphasized the role of the teacher in molding the lives of children and the need for special training for teachers of the disadvantaged. Dr. Mary Harbage, Professor of Education at Wright State University, discussed problems of migrant children, some reasons for the children's failures, and some possible solutions for teaching these children. Dr. Ralph F. Robinett, Director of Bilingual Curriculum Development in Ann Arbor, Michigan, described pronunciation problems of Spanish-speaking migrant children by comparing the Spanish sound system and English sound system. (CM)

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Ohio Conference on Migrant Education

RC 003371

Martin W. Essex
STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
COLUMBUS, OHIO

Foreword

Perhaps no national or local effort could have greater value than implementing educational programs designed to improve the opportunities of children of migrant agricultural workers. Today under conditions of general affluence it is estimated that the average yearly income of a migrant worker is $1500.00. Because of the conditions imposed by migration, approximately 90% of the children of migrant workers never complete school. In a technological society the demands for a highly educated citizenry are great. Persons with less than a high school education are markedly disadvantaged. Their ability to contribute to the larger society is only exceeded by their inability to assume a role of self-sufficiency and personal dignity.

One of the several programs designed to attack the educational problems of the migrant child is Title I, P. L. 89-750 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The task of educating the migrant child is not an easy one. The short term duration of his enrollment, and the language handicap are two of the most pressing challenges faced by educators in the design of local programs.

The purpose of the seminar which was conducted August 2 and 3, 1968, at Bowling Green, Ohio, was to identify problem areas in migrant education and to consider collectively some of the solutions to these problems.

As Director of the Division of Federal Assistance, Ohio Department of Education, I would like to acknowledge and extend my appreciation to the seminar participants. Special appreciation is extended to Doctors Mary Harbage, Ralph Robinette, and Jess Walker, whose presentations are included in this publication.

For making the seminar arrangements and for the editing and preparation of this report, we are indebted to the School Management Institute.

R. A. HORN

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Director
Division of Federal Assistance
Ohio Department of Education

Migration Toward Education

JESS WALKER
Department of Teacher Education
Western Michigan University

MOLDING

I took a piece of plastic clay,
And idly fashioned it one day;
And as my fingers pressed it, still,
It moved and yielded to my will.

I came again when days were past,
The bit of clay was hard at last;
The form I gave it still it bore,
But I could change that form no more.

I took a piece of living clay
And gently formed it day by day;
And molded with my power and art,
A young child's soft and yielding heart.

I came again when years were gone,
It was a man I looked upon;
He still that early impress wore,
And I could change him never more.

Our success as a profession is going to be determined by what we do in molding, shaping, and developing the lives of children. It seems to me that the purpose of education can be rather simply stated. Our responsibility is to make it possible for each child we come in contact with to find his place in society. If we are successful as educators when this child's preparation is completed, he will be prepared to meet the challenges awaiting him in our vast, complex, complicated, industrial, materialistic, technological society.

I served as Director of the Masters Program offered by Western Michigan University designed to prepare teachers to work with the educationally disadvantaged child. In our program we recognize the urgent need and the necessity for our teachers in training to have early experiences with the various cultures and different types of individuals they may meet in their professional career. As part of this training, I had the pleasure this past summer along with a group of my graduate students to spend time back in the hills and hollows of West Virginia. Some of us lived with Vista Workers, others lived with Appalachian families. This was done in an effort to get to know them, to understand them, to understand their culture, and to understand their value system all in the hope that someday when we meet their children in the classrooms of America, we might be able to do a more adequate job than is presently being done.

While there, in early June, the news filtered back to us of the assassination of Senator Kennedy in California. We were designated with a group from the Appalachian contingency to go into Resurrection City. We were privileged to be there on that Saturday when the body of Senator Kennedy was brought from New York; and we stood in Resurrection City that morning, under the loud blare of the television sets, (for a silence that permeated Resurrection City was different from the other days that we had been there) and we listened to the eulogy as it was presented in St. Patrick's Cathedral. And to give us some direction in our program from this morning I would like to share with you a quote that I am sure you are familiar with, but one that has become very meaningful to me, and one that I am hopeful might provide some point of direction for us to consider as we move forward in our program this morning. Senator Edward Kennedy in his eulogy in St. Patrick's Cathedral quoted his brother as saying, "Some men see things as they are, and say, 'Why?'" And I submit to you this morning that in education we have been guilty and have been *found* guilty of spending a great deal of time and effort and energy in attempting to explain why things are as they are in education; why migrant children do not learn; why they do not go very far in school; why they are relegated to the low status, the misery and suffering of everyday life. We have been somewhat successful in explaining why. Because of this we sit back and accept the fact that because we know why, there is little or nothing we can do about it.

Senator Kennedy completed his brother's quote when he said, "I dream things that never were, and say 'Why not?'" And I submit to you this morning that unless in migrant education we begin dreaming things for migrant children that never have been, unless we stop being satisfied with ourselves by explaining why things are as they are and begin dreaming about things for these children we never have dared dream before, we will never in any sense of the word be able to educationally accomplish what we are challenged to accomplish. We will not be able to do for the migrant child what is necessary if he is someday going to find his place as a meaningful and useful, productive citizen. We will never allow him to enjoy the reality of the great American Dream, that still is fallaciously held up to him, that is achievable for him.

We are citizens of the richest country that has ever existed in the history of the world. We have just one-sixteenth of the world's total population and yet we enjoy in this country over 40% of the total world's wealth. We are living in a socially mobile society. We are living in a society where we explain to our children in school that it is possible for them to achieve, and that through achievement they may be able to become useful and productive citizens in the society, regardless of the circumstances from which they come.

In this, the most affluent country in the history of the world, nearly thirty million people live in poverty. Where billions are spent on education and up-to-date educational services, millions of Americans are illiterate, suffer malnutrition, star-

vation, and unnecessary disease. The plight of the poor has become our greatest national scandal. Millions of American children are leading an existence in which they are without help, and in which they see themselves without hope.

It has been my good fortune the last few years to have had ample opportunity to travel, to work in poverty programs from coast to coast. I have observed the poverty that exists on our Indian reservations; the very different problems, the different causes of the problems; but they are nonetheless complex. I have been extensively involved in the problems of the inner city. Our major cities in the North are in chaos because of poverty, because of the suffering, because of man's inhumanity to man. The rural poor, and of course the migrants are likewise suffering. These diverse problems are destroying the human beings who suffer under these tragic circumstances.

I have tried diligently in the last few years to explain what we as educators are talking about when we speak about poverty and the poor. I had tried, unsuccessfully, to explain it in terms of pure economics. But just who the poor are became rather clear to me during the time we spent in Resurrection City, as I *saw* the poor *assembled* from every corner of our country at the seat of national government bringing their plight, their problems, their misery, their suffering before this nation. I realized that the poor are human beings with hearts and souls and needs and desires that differ little from yours and mine. People who have almost given up because we have failed them. People without any real hope. People who are unprepared to live in our complex society. People who desperately need a relevant education.

Research sociologists make it very clear to us that in 1968 we achieve or obtain status in this society first and foremost by education. Our education determines our occupation and our occupation determines our income. Education, occupation, and income become the vehicle, the method by which we obtain status in our society. It does not matter whether you are migrant, middle class white, black, or Spanish-American, the reality of American society, 1968, is that you must have an education, you must be prepared through education if you are going to find your place to be able to make a positive contribution to this society in which we all live. I think that this is one of the realities of which we must be aware and of which we must make the children aware. Education is an absolute necessity for them if they are going to be able to take a meaningful place in our society. Because of this the challenge and the responsibility to provide education to disadvantaged children as a means and a method by which they may obtain and find a place for themselves in life is more urgent than it has ever been before.

I submit to you that in education we do not determine how long it is necessary for us to keep children in school. We determine what we do *with* them and do *for* them and how we do it to them while they are in school, but we do not determine how long we are to keep them in school, nor have we ever determined how long we have to keep them in school. I submit to you that it is our economy, our labor market, that dictates to us in our profession how long it is necessary for us to keep children in school. It was not too many years ago that we were saying to young men and women in our society, "With a 4th grade education you can go to work, you can find a place for yourself, you fit, you belong, you become a part of this vast complex in which we live." It was not many years later that we found ourselves working in an economy and in a labor market that was dictating to us that with an 8th grade education you could go to work. Undoubtedly some of you began your teaching careers with an 8th grade education. You could teach school with an 8th grade education. The labor market was open for you. There was a place where you could fit, a place where you would belong. In Texas a few weeks ago I conducted a very informal survey that indicated over one hundred teachers who were teaching migrant children in Texas had started their teaching careers with an 8th grade education.

Now we as educators find ourselves saying to young men and women, "Without the benefit of a 12th grade education, our economy is not ready for you, unless you have this minimum, unless you are kept out of the labor market for this period of time, there is no place for you." It seems to me that the first open attack directed toward us in education, was when in 1963, January, President Kennedy in his State of the Union Address, spent a great deal of time dealing with the problems of education as they affect our economy and society. Let me quote to you just one statement that he made in that State of the Union Address. He said, "The future of any country which is dependent on the will and wisdom of its citizens is damaged and irrepairably damaged whenever any of its children is not educated to the fullest extent of his capacity from grade school through graduate school." He went on to say, "Today, an estimated 4 out of every 10 students in the fifth grades of this country will not receive a 12th grade education, and this is a waste a democracy cannot afford." This statement has been the impetus for much of what has been done in education in the last few years. We sat up and began to listen when President Kennedy pointed out very clearly that 40% of the young men and women who come to us in our private and parochial schools to receive an education, leave these private and parochial schools without the benefit of the minimum requirement as dictated by our economy and by our labor market.

Earl Kelley at Wayne State University in Michigan points out that this 40% represents seven hundred thousand young men and women who are poured into the streets and into society without the benefit of a 12th grade education. Now for some of us it is rather difficult perhaps

to accept the fact that this is reality 1968. It is easier for some of us, particularly as we get older, to understand what our economy and what our labor market is doing to us on the other end, where we are more directly involved. Our economy says to us, "When you reach age 65 you are through," and we find ourselves stammering and stuttering, "you . . . you . . . you know, you mean to say that when I am 64 years of age, I can work and teach school and be an administrator, and . . . and all that kind of stuff, and when I'm 65, I can't function any more? Hogwash!" But then you find yourself at the end of that year having a nice little tea in the faculty room and some few of your students may even come back to wish you well, and you get a very inexpensive gift, and *you're through*. Our economy says, "You are through." And yet you know you can work; you know you can function; but the labor market, the economy says, "No, there is no place for you."

I am working with a man 39 years of age with 10 children. I have gone with him on ten different occasions as we have attempted to get him a job. He has been on ADCU (Aide to Dependent Children of the Unemployed) for 14 years and without the benefit of an education he finds it impossible to get a job. If he gets a job he finds it impossible to hold a job because he is constantly being replaced. If we can only understand what we are relegating our young men and women to when we do not prepare them to meet the educational minimum requirements of our society, there is still hope for education.

Every time I approach migrant education it seems as if the problem we faced in our major cities is child's play. It is simple in comparison to the problems that we face in attempting to provide meaningful, effective education for migrant children. Migrant children are in the bottom quartile as far as achievement is concerned. They are the most educationally disadvantaged children of the total segment of the population as disadvantaged. One of the things we have to face is that regardless of what we have done, regardless of the progress we have made, regardless of how good we might feel about the progress we have made, our programs, as they presently exist, are still *total failures* for migrant children. We are just beginning, and unless we are able to make rapid progress, perhaps time will run out in migrant education as it is rapidly running out in urban education in our major cities.

We were informed the other day in Texas that they have ninety-five thousand migrant children in school. Eighty-six percent of that ninety-five thousand children are in grade 6 and below. There is only one school in the entire state of Texas that provides education beyond the 9th grade for migrant children. Of the twenty-eight thousand children being served in the state of Florida, my guess would be that by far the majority of these children are in 6th grade or below. Any sizeable number of migrant children completing high school is almost unheard of. The statement has been made, "Not only do they drop out of school but also out of society." And I submit to you that is not true. It is not possible to drop out of society. It is possible to be rejected by society, and to live in a state of deprivation and misery and suffering in society; but you are still a part of it, but a part that does not fit, and a part that does not belong, and a part that does not contribute.

I think we have to concern ourselves and be seriously concerned with what happens to young men and women who are not prepared to live in the kind of society that has progressed and developed in these United States. I have served as a consultant to the Job Corps. I have arrived at the point where it is extremely difficult for me to go on to these Job Corps Centers because they are human garbage cans. We had a Job Corps Center just a few miles outside of Kalamazoo where fifteen hundred young men between the ages of 16 and 21 had been and brought from Indian reservations, rural farms, urban centers, Appalachia and a few from the migrant stream. Efforts were being made in a very short period of time to rehabilitate, to do for them what we had failed to do in public education. And the human misery, the human suffering, man's inhumanity to man was unbelievable.

I was sitting next to a 17-year-old young man one day. He was reading at a second grade level, but this was not his real problem. He saw himself as unliked, unwanted, unable, and incapable. He explained to me what life for him was like. "Life," he said, "for me is just like living in a bottle with the lid on. Looking out through the glass things look all distorted. Do you realize, man," he went on to say, "what it's like to live in a bottle and be able to see what's going on, but not be able to be a part of it, not be able to participate, not to be included? Do you realize what life is like when you live in this kind of a world?" This is the kind of world that young men and women in our society are going to be forced to live in unless we do the job that we are paid to do and challenged to do. This educational challenge is not just with our children, not just with white middle class children, but with the children of the poor.

We are very rapidly moving beyond the point of where a 12th grade education is going to be sufficient to participate fully in our society. I say to the young students with whom I am working at the university (and I insist each semester to work with at least one class of undergraduates), "If your great grandfather had a 4th grade education, your grandfather an 8th grade education, your parents a 12th grade education, and in 1969 you receive a bachelor's degree from Western Michigan University, there is no status in consistency in your family whatsoever. You can teach school, but you can do no more with your college education than your great grandmother or your grandmother could do with her 8th grade

be able to use that education for a shorter period of time than your grandmother was allowed to use hers. This is because, as a report that I was reading the other night points out, by 1972 we can expect forced retirement in all professions by age 60. In many professions we will have forced retirement by age 55. We will be retiring on social security at age 50. The average work week will be 32 hours a week. The average vacation will be 6 weeks. And yet the standard of living will not be decreasing, it is continuing to rise. The question is this: what kind of individual will society require? If we can find the answer to this question, then we will know the kind of individual we must produce and must prepare to become a part of the coming work world. Only with this understanding can we help today's youth find his place. And this is what we face in education: the challenge of preparing young men and women to find that place.

Just a few weeks ago I was speaking to 200 teachers who were starting their first year of teaching in the Kalamazoo public schools. After the meeting I had lunch with two young ladies who are going to teach kindergarten. Over lunch we discussed the kind of a world in which they were preparing their children to live. We explored what life was going to be like 16, 18 years from now when that young man or that young woman who is this year in kindergarten must step out and find his place in this vast, complex, technological society. This discussion exposed some very real and serious questions that I believe we should be concerned about if we are going to meet the needs of the children who are coming to us for an education. Because the sad reality is that when children do not meet the minimum educational expectation of society, when their achievement level is below that which is expected of them, we see what happens: the frustration, the anxiety, the rebellion, the riots, the anger, and the fear. When we just stop and think of the number of people we are pouring out into our society every year who are not prepared to handle and to cope with the realities of society, I think it is little wonder that we find ourselves in our present state of chaos. I submit to you that our present school system is a machine for producing potential dropouts. While the salvage operation for this year's remedial group goes on, the schools are preparing a new batch for each of the years to come, and this situation is intolerable. It is expensive in money and it is destructive of human beings. Society cannot tolerate much longer the human waste and destruction our present establishment produces. No longer can schools assume that their failures will get lost in unskilled jobs. We must now comprehend that in our kind of society, every individual, *every* individual must somehow be educated. We can no longer tolerate educational failures. We as educators are in the wrong business if we believe we are educating migrants to become migrants, to remain migrants, this is simply not reality. Michigan is the largest receiving state, the largest user of migrant labor outside of the home base states of Florida, Texas, and California. A very comprehensive survey conducted in our state just a few months ago indicated that by 1971-1972 we will no longer have any need for migrant labor at all in the state of Michigan! We will not be importing any migrant labor into the state of Michigan! There will still be a few jobs available in agriculture but these jobs will be available to those who live in the area, who choose to do this kind of work, particularly in the summer. If you were to visit our major farms in Michigan and see what is happening you would observe the migrant labor camps that are being torn down, the automated cherry pickers that are coming into Michigan to pick our cherries, the cherry orchards that are being plowed under as a new strain of cherry tree is being grown and developed by horticulturists that can take the beating of the cherry shakers. You would marvel at what is happening in our strawberry and cucumber fields where because of advanced horticultural technology, the strawberries now are all ripened the same size at the same time, and every cucumber is the same length on any given day. The machine comes through the fields and picks the plant, all of the strawberries, all of the cucumbers, takes the plant, and moves on leaving in its place a new plant. Because of advancements like this hundreds and hundreds of migrant families are being replaced.

Last year the first appropriation made for this year in migrant education was 9.7 million dollars. In December this appropriation was increased to 41.7 million dollars, nationally, to be spent on migrants. I think it is very clear that this increase in appropriations was because migrants are no longer going to be able to function as migrants, and we are going to either have to educate them now or if we fail, wait and drag them through the ghettos of our major cities and then try to do what we should have been doing for them all along.

Hundreds of migrant families are dropping out of the migrant stream and staying in Michigan. These migrants who follow the sun do not have clothes even to live adequately in the warm weather, let alone in winter. We have migrants living in the state of Michigan in houses with dirt floors and it is snowing and cold and freezing. Their children do not have adequate clothing to wear to school, and we have set up organizations in an attempt to make it possible for them to survive at least this winter. In Michigan we are just getting a glimpse of what lies ahead for most of them, the tragedy of human waste and the indignations that human beings have to suffer when we drag them through the ghettos of our major cities. And this is what will happen if we fail to educate them. Somehow there has to be a drastic and immediate revolution in education so we can do for migrant children what they need to have done for them if we are going to prevent one of the greatest national tragedies that could happen to a group of people. This tragedy will happen when their jobs are taken from them and they are then subjected to the indignities of poverty in the ghettos of our major cities. I think we have an alternative. We can either accept the fact that

we are going to become a welfare state (and there are people who are very seriously suggesting this possibility) and provide financially, materially and in every other way for those whom we fail to educate, or our educational system is going to have to make the changes and the modifications, and whatever is necessary to provide the type of education that will make it possible for these people, for the poor, to become useful, meaningful, productive persons in society. I believe the educationally deprived, the migrant child is the best thing that has happened to us in education in a long time, because it is just like holding a mirror up to our public schools. We can look into it and see how well we are doing as educators when we see the reflection of how well we are providing education for migrant children. Sometimes we see not only our failures but also our greatest educational need. As a profession we are slow to change and very quick to anger when what we are doing is being challenged, when we are being threatened. Our schools have been indicted for total failure with the children of the poor and I submit to you that this is true. Unless education prepares a child to live in society it is a total failure. Let me share with you what I see happening today. In the past our training of teachers, if indeed we have really "trained" any teachers, has been to take middle class teachers and prepare them to go into middle class schools. There they teach middle class children who are all ready prepared for the academics when they come to school. Our hope is that these teachers will carry these middle class children at least beyond the minimum expectations as set up by society. Then, in the past we have said to educationally deprived children, to the poor, to disadvantaged children, "Yes, we will take you from where you are in your ever downward spiral or poverty. We can explain why you have all these problems when you come to school. You are illegitimate, there are no books in the home, you are malnourished and so on and so on. We all know this. And we will do as much for you as we can. We recognize and hope that you did that we we are not going to be able to do very much or carry you as far as you need to be carried in order to be prepared for society." This kind of education is a complete failure for the disadvantaged child, for the migrant child, for the child of the poor. He is unprepared and perhaps this kind of education is more destructive to him than no education at all. Because it carries him just part way. It raises his hopes, it lets him catch a glimpse, a vision, of what perhaps might be. Then, when he catches that glimpse, that vision, the door is closed and closed hard because it says, "You cannot become a part, you cannot belong." I submit to you that we are going to have to do something that we have never done before in American education. We must begin dreaming the type of dreams that I talked about earlier, where we take the disadvantaged child and through education we can forge for him a new and meaningful life.

You are going to begin dreaming of the day when every migrant child is going to graduate from high school and you are going to be talking to him when he comes into kindergarten and the first grade about *his* high school graduation and *his* senior prom and *his* plans for the future and *his* kind of life that he must live and the kind of preparation that he must have, if he is going to become a meaningful product in society. This kind of education is a new venture, because we are going to move children further than we have ever been able to move them before and never before have we faced a greater challenge than to provide this kind of education.

The educational problems of the disadvantaged child is simply a magnified version of the illness that pervades our total school system. I believe that all American children are educationally disadvantaged. Middle class children are leaving schools, unknowingly short-changed in terms of the values, attitudes, and commitments which are necessary in today's society. We only need to look at the student rebellions on our university campuses, we need to only look at the Hippy and Yippy movements and other movements that are prevalent in our society to see the unrest, to realize what we are doing to young men and women in our public educational system, how unprepared they are to live in, face, cope with, and comprehend the vast complexities of society as it presently exists. Why is it that in the most schooled nation in history we cannot follow dreams? Why is it that we white people have failed to see what it means to be black in America? Why do many of us steadfastly refuse to give equality and full citizenship to our minority groups? Why have we so little perception of injustice? Why have we so little compassion? It seems to me if our educational system had given the middle class, affluent people a sense of oneness with their fellow man and a sense of responsibility for their welfare, we would long ago have done something about the problems that now give us a crisis for which we have no *sure* solution. The fact is, perhaps our failure with white middle class children has become even more basic than our failure with the children of the poor. Unless we are successful in our present efforts, unless we can indeed change the education of the advantaged, the affluent, the white middle class in such a way that they will no longer tolerate poverty, that they will no longer tolerate slums, that they will no longer tolerate racial injustice, our grandchildren will be in an even greater state of crisis than we are. I feel that our total establishment is at fault. We proceed on assumptions that sooner or later will defeat both the teacher and the student. The first of these assumptions is that the child's cognitive learning is more important than the child, and we make this at all levels in education, not just with disadvantaged children. The second is that this learning must take place on schedule, that all first graders must read no matter what the effort to teach them does to their personalities, to their self-concepts, that acquiring cognitive learning on schedule is so all important, that we make a desperate effort to achieve it even if in the words of Jonathan Cozal, it means "death at an early age" (and if you have not read his remarkable book, I suggest you do so). We are

laboring to serve the needs of academic subjects and not the needs of children. It is so obvious, we somehow feel that when a child comes to school it is going to be much easier for him to change his needs than it is for the school to change its demands. I firmly believe there is much less wrong with the child, with the migrant child who is going to come into the classroom, than there is with the educational system, with the process by which we are attempting to teach him. We find *our* frustration in trying to make the child fit the system. This *has to be* changed. Our present educational system damages children to the point where rehabilitation is difficult, if perhaps not impossible.

We have held that education is an escalator that moves people from lower class poverty and misery to middle class affluence and comfort. And now within the short space of a decade we have discovered that this escalator has stopped or perhaps never was running for large segments of the poor. The outcome in our schools must somehow be measured in terms of how successful we are in producing academic individual achievement for migrant children. This becomes the criteria for success, the outcome, the individual, academic, and personal achievement of the migrant children. We must realize that with the poor, the educationally deprived, their academic needs are simply not being met in our public schools. Schools were never intended to operate under modern slum conditions. Schools were never intended to serve migrant children. I think this is a reality we have to face. In the state of Michigan where we have had migrants coming in for many, many, many years we are just discovering them. Now just in the last few years we have made a great deal of effort to trying and make them fit the system as it exists, even though we know that the system itself was never intended to serve them. We never felt obligated to serve them until we had federal money to do so. Generally speaking, teachers who are not trained, do not know how to teach children who are behind from the day they are born. The type of education that will take children who are so far behind from the day they are born and make education meaningful, must provide the type of programs, the type of curriculum, the type of instruction, the type of classroom atmosphere that will make it possible for this child to move the great distance that he has to move in order to fit into our society.

I became very involved with drop-outs when I was Dean of Students at a large high school. I saw people come in, sitting across from me at my desk and I began wondering what happens to them when they drop out of school and as I began studying a little deeper, it was amazing to me why they had stayed as long as they had. What happens to a child when he sits in a classroom, day after day, week after week, year after year and fails, fails, fails, and sees himself as a failure. Then we are surprised when they do not complete their education. I do not think we need to be surprised at all. I believe that our curriculum is ill-adapted to at least one-third of the children we are attempting to serve. The challenge of a curriculum expert is greater today than it has perhaps ever been. They must determine what is it that a child needs to know in order to be prepared to live in this rapidly changing world. When you consider what there is to know, you become more aware of the complexity of the problem. Research historians tell us that from the time of Christ to 1776 the total fund of knowledge doubled, from 1776 to 1900 the total fund of knowledge doubled again. Everything that was known in 1900 doubled again by 1950, and we are told that the fund of knowledge will double every decade, every ten years. Out of this somehow we must hold a magnet and decide what is necessary that we have to teach children in order for them to move out in society and find that place we have been talking about. The day when a child needs to know the average rainfall in Chile is past. I saw a teacher in a migrant program trying to help the migrant children learn the names of the presidents in order, and I submit to you that this kind of education is not only inadequate for migrant children, but it is inadequate for any child who is in any classroom, any place in America.

I suggest to you that we begin to think in the following terms about curriculum and there certainly, in my opinion, needs to be a great deal of revision as it revolves around migrant education. We must move curriculum from the remote to the immediate, from the academic to the participatory, from the "what" to the "why." It is not enough for a child to know just what happened, but why and how it all fits into his total scheme of living.

Our curriculum has been so white-washed that it is antiseptic and far removed from reality. When we received our distinguished achievement award in Chicago a few months ago, there were three thousand university deans and presidents present. We were told then that the university curriculum is not only irrelevant to the students, in most cases it is irrelevant to the professors who are attempting to dish it out. The curriculum is just as irrelevant to the students in *our* classrooms. It is not relevant to migrant children until we can make that curriculum relevant. There is so much that is relevant to them. There is so much that children should know. There is so much that is exciting and important for them to know. But we will have to have a great change in our curriculum if we are going to do this. I believe that the school, no less than the hospital, must become the main arena for professional training, for experimentation, for research, if we are going to make the growth that our profession must make.

Good schools will no longer be defined by the racial or economic composition. Our schools will be defined by the quality of what is happening in them. Dr. Combs informs us that there are no such things as good or bad methods in teaching, and I concur whole-heartedly. There are only good or bad outcomes and we must be concerned about the outcomes.

In our teacher training we must teach teachers to be secure, that they know what works for them and why it works, and then get about the business of making it work in the classrooms. I think the most important thing that any child can learn is that he *can* learn. It sounds simple, but how many children learn systematically day by day, how many migrant children learn a little bit each day, that they can not learn, they are not expected to learn? As Dr. Melborn says, "The most important thing a child can take home with him from school is a better feeling about himself than he had when he came in that front door that morning."

I think this is important, this is part of the preparation that we are talking about in making it possible for these people to find a meaningful and successful place in life. I believe that we will revolutionize education in America by revolutionizing it for the poor. I see that this is our one hope. One of the reasons that I have taken a very personal interest in migrant education is because I believe that we will revolutionize education for the poor by revolutionizing it in migrant education, where we do not have the "hang-ups," the restriction, the course studies, the guides, workbooks and many other things that tie us down and prevent us from doing the things for children and making the curriculum child-centered as it needs to be. We must get about the business of revolutionizing a faulty process rather than concerning ourselves with rehabilitating the product, rather than concerning ourselves with rehabilitating the student and attempting to make the student fit into the process once we get him in school. I think we have a need for educational leadership the likes of which we have never had before in this country: leadership in the State Department level, leadership in our universities, leadership in our schools administration, with our teachers, at all levels. We must be able to take a position of leadership for the job that you people are here considering at this conference – the opportunity, the challenge you have to be leaders, leaders in every community, into every school system into which you go, to attempt to bring about some of the changes that might in a small way make it possible for us to do a better job with migrant children. You have an opportunity to do something about changing some of the stilted, outdated, out-moded practices that exist in our classrooms. It becomes very clear that we must face up to some reality. Let me give one quote from the July, 1967, issue of *School and Society*, "One thing becomes eminently clear, not only are these federal programs an admission of basic need, but they are also the admission of the forfeiture of the prerogatives of the American educational leadership. Some critics have said to us, "If you continue to do a poor job in your schools, or if you refuse to do the job properly, we will build a system in, around, or under you, which will do the job." The job is: the academic outcome. I am consulting in a Headstart program in West Virginia. Three thousand children being served there and not a single educator employed in the entire project, either in teaching or in administration, and they are doing an outstanding job. In our profession we have to face up to the reality that we are either going to do it or someone else is going to be challenged to do it for us. That is reality.

In migrant education we are fortunate because time is on our side. You see this convention is not being picketed by Spanish-speaking Americans, by migrants. But we do not hold many conventions any more dealing with urban education, because time has run out in some segments of our society in our efforts to deal with it. We have little time left. I do not know how much.

I read an article the other day that was entitled, "We ain't unteachable, just unteached." I think when we begin to talk about equality of educational opportunity we are only kidding ourselves if we continue to talk about some of the things about which we have talked: higher salaries, new workbooks, new textbooks. You see how comfortable you would be if I could give you a textbook that would tell you how to work with migrant children. You would be very comfortable. You would feel very secure. But we are never going to talk about equality of educational opportunity until we are willing to talk about some of the problems in closed meetings like this. And I submit to you that the success of any program, the pay point is: *the teacher with the child.* Now there are a lot of jobs that back up the teacher, but when we do not see our job as backing up the teacher, I do not see where we are going to have much room for success, unless that teacher has success. Because any job in education is there because a child needs to be served and if the children are not being served, not one of us is doing his job, or none of us is going to get the rewards for which we are hoping.

Let us take a fifth grade as an example. Two young girls live next door to each other, call for one another on the way to school, hold hands and are off to school in the morning. They go in the same front door and they have the same building, the same racio-economic makeup of the school, the same materials. They separate in the hall, one child goes into a classroom and she has a beautiful education for 185 days out of the year. The other child goes on down the hall a few doors and goes into another fifth grade classroom and she is cheated for 185 days because of the teacher in that classroom. We have too many shallow, brittle, neurotic, maladjusted teachers in our classrooms who are attempting to mold and shape and develop the lives of children. Until we can face this reality we are never going to do, in my opinion, what needs to be done. If there is any thing that a disadvantaged child is entitled to, if there is anything that a migrant child is entitled to when he comes into a classroom, he is entitled to come into a classroom where the teacher has a healthy personality, where the teacher has herself together and any of us who have taught in schools for disadvantaged children know what is demanded

and know what it drains from us every day that we are in the classroom.

One of the most important items if we are going to meet the challenge that I am talking about this morning is the teacher's perception of herself, if the teacher has herself together. Mr. Banks in New York tells us that if we were to take twenty-five children on any play yard we would know that two of those twenty-five children will spend time in a mental institution before his or her life is over. Four of those children will be so seriously neurotic they will be unable to cope with reality. Four more of those children will be extremely neurotic. Four more of those children will be mildly neurotic and perhaps eight to ten will be fairly normal. If there is anything that a disadvantaged child, a migrant child, is entitled to when he comes into the classroom, it is a teacher with a healthy personality, a teacher who has her own personal life in order.

My own child last year was in a second grade classroom with thirty-eight children and a sick, neurotic teacher. She had family "hang-ups," marital "hang-ups," she had sexual "hang-ups." So somehow we have to go about the business of seeing that migrant children come in contact with the type of constructive teachers that we are talking about. I am convinced that there is very little relationship between certification and competence. There is nothing synonymous about degrees and competence. There is nothing synonymous about ten, fifteen and twenty years of teaching and competence. Somehow if we are going to bring about the type of positive education we envision, we must begin dealing, working foremost with competent teachers. I hope that I live to see the day when in teacher education we will say to young men and women knocking on our doors, "You do not have what it takes to be a teacher. Go into business, into medicine, into law, something else, but you do not have the special qualities or abilities it takes to be a teacher." We operate under the fallacious assumption that anyone can teach. Yet we know this is simply not true. Because of this fallacious assumption that we have been working with for a long time we find ourselves in chaotic circumstances in our profession.

There are three levels at which teachers function. There is the feeling level, the thinking level, and the speaking level, and sometimes it seems as they become more integrated we become able to handle inconsistency in all three areas. We can say one thing and be thinking something else and be feeling something else. As the psychiatric consultant a couple of summers ago in a camp for disadvantaged children, I was having dinner with a little nine-year-old black boy. I knew his teacher and the situation from which he was coming. We were talking about whether or not a white teacher could work with him and could work effectively and he came through with some very sound philosophical comments. He said, "Man, it's all right if that gal's for real." I said, "Come on, get off it, what do you mean if she's for real." "I tells ya, I can tell every time whether she's for real," and listen to what he said, "When she comes up to me, if she puts her arm around me and she smiles at me I can feel her quakin' inside. I tells ya I know that gal ain't for real." You see it is not just the great gesture of smiling and putting your arm around a child, but it is how you feel about them.

One way the teacher has to have herself together in the type of programs that we are talking about is that I believe we can no longer allow teachers who are prejudiced, who discriminate, who are racist to mold and shape the lives of American children in any system anywhere in this country. Perhaps the most dangerous individual is the individual that does not have himself well enough together, who does not know himself well enough, who does not have a clear enough perception of himself to know how he feels. And yet the child knows within a matter of days just how that teacher feels, knows more about her and her feelings towards him than she knows herself! The most dangerous individual is the individual who thinks they are *not* prejudiced when in reality *they are!* There is nothing magic about black teachers working with black children, or Spanish-American teachers working with Spanish-speaking children. Sometimes these people can be as damaging and destructive as white teachers attempting to work with minority groups. Sometimes we forget very rapidly and very quickly what we have been through. We refuse to identify some things in a little child because these identities cause us to remember things that we do not want to remember. And because of our own psychological "hang-ups" we often find ourselves rejecting and destroying and damaging the child. So there is nothing magic in color or race in the classroom. The magic is the personality of the teacher. How well that teacher has herself together. How well she is able to perceive and understand the children with whom she is attempting to work.

"If you discriminate against me because I am uncouth, I can become mannerly. If you ostracize me because I am unclean, I can cleanse myself. If you segregate me because I lack knowledge, I can become educated. But if you discriminate against me because of my color, I can do nothing. God gave me my color." I think this is one issue, and a very important issue, in migrant education with which we have to come to grips. I am thinking of a little Spanish-American child in Michigan last summer, and as I talked to her I had cold chills run up and down my back, because this little girl really believed that her teacher liked her. It was the first time in her perception of all the time she had been in school in all the classrooms in which she had attended that she ever had the feeling that the teacher liked her. Can you imagine? If we see migrants or their children as second and third class citizens, if we see them as being less than worthy of an education, less capable of being educated than, we are in the wrong business.

It begins with the teacher and her perception of that child and the teacher's perception of what she is attempting to do. I strongly believe we must have a deep respect for human dignity. We have to get beyond the point of pointing the finger to where we are willing to extend a helping hand. We have to have a very clear perception of the children we are helping, the children we are paid to serve. We have to have a deep respect for them. We have to have a deep understanding and respect for their culture, for their language. We have to learn to work with their families.

I thought it was interesting yesterday that one of the reporters in the group pointed out that as we were talking about working with parents, (and I think we have to accept the fact that if we think we can do what we need to do with disadvantaged children alone in the classroom, regardless of how good the teacher is, we have to go and do some more thinking) we have got to learn to work with the families. We have to see an extended school out into the community, out into the other agencies. We have to be willing to ask for help. We have to get away from the feeling that we are inadequate if we are to ask someone to help us with what we are attempting to do. Parents who feel that the school is not meeting the needs of their children are terribly perceptive parents to have this feeling of hopelessness. Of *course* there is a feeling of hopelessness. Some of us sitting here today, (if we are buying any of what I am saying) also gain a feeling of hopelessness. We know the massive systems that we are moving into and the problems of trying to make any changes in those systems. How do you think the migrant parents feel if they realize the schools are not meeting their needs? They see you as part of that system, and they see that system and they are hopeless. Is it any wonder? Poor public relations? I question how we can have good public relations with the poor until we begin meeting their needs; I do not believe we can. I do not believe we can have good public relations with the poor until our schools begin to reflect what they need to have done for them, until we begin doing it.

I am working with a program in Chicago called "Mad Mama" and I tell you it is a good program, because we have a lot of mad mamas. And they are coming to school and they are making their demands felt. This is good! I am working very hard so that we will very shortly in some of our cities have black control of black schools. And this does not mean that we will have all black teachers and black principals. But this means that the black neighborhoods will have some control of their schools just like in the white neighborhoods in which we live. I feel sorry for the principal in our elementary school. She has about seven hundred professional parents, most of whom believe they can run the school better than she can. She has to be on her toes constantly because white parents are there for this and that and for what this teacher is doing, and this textbook and that workbook, right down the line. I tell you, it *keeps* her on her toes. And because of this she is providing at least a better education there than in most other schools. I hope we will get to the point where we have black control of the schools, where black parents are . . . when you have 90% black parents in a community they have a right to dictate, the same way that white parents dictate and control their schools. They have the right to demand that the schools meet the needs of their children. I hope that the time will come when the migrant schools we are operating in this state will be controlled by migrant parents in the same manner that we control our white schools, and I think this is a positive move. Somehow we have to get around to the idea that the schools are accountable, that they are responsible to the people that they are supposed to be serving, that these people have to feel that they have some control over their own destiny.

We must teach children from their background and not from ours. Teachers must be completely aware of the backgrounds that they are going to serve and you do not get this background by riding through a migrant camp, or riding out on the street and saying, "My, that's where the migrants live." No, you get this type of background by getting in and sitting down with them and getting them to invite you into their homes for dinner. And you see where they live and how they live and get to know them as human beings. They cry, they laugh, they get their feelings hurt, they are disappointed, they get excited just like anyone else. Yes, I hope the time will come when we will get to know them by name, when we will include them as part of our community, when they will not be something that is ostracized as a second and third class citizen living on the outskirts of town. I hope the time will soon come when we will get to know them and accept them and understand them and let them become an integral part of our community.

One of the first steps that must be made in an effort to bring about this acceptance is the changing of teacher attitudes and expecations of these children. We must as educators get away from the self-fulfilling prophesy, as it deals with teachers' expectations and the attitudes towards children. Our challenge is not only to teach these children to make a living but also to teach them how to live in this materialistic society. We have to be very cognizant of a deep reverence that we must have for life, a reverence for human dignity. I am concerned about man's inhumanity to man. This is really what we are talking about today. Somehow we must change some of the competitive nature of schools in society and make it possible for children to be concerned to really care about one another so that possibly when they get out into society, they may as adults be more concerned. Most of us are aware that we do not need to talk about black-white relations in order to get into man's inhumanity to man; within any one race, within any neighborhood, almost within any family, we can see the tragedy of man's inhumanity to man.

I wish time permitted me to share with you the new perception that we have of a master teacher and some of the skills that we are attempting to build into our 40 days of in-service training that we offer for any teacher who is going to work with migrant children in the state of Michigan this next summer. Some of the directions in which we are moving there are exciting. I believe we need to be vitally concerned about in-service education, in-service education at all levels of our profession. I think we are.

Let me list five imperatives that I see as related to migrant education as somewhat of a summation of what I have said this morning. I believe that we have to recognize that our prevailing mode of education is anarchistic in schools, an outdated process in need of restructuring from top to bottom. Somehow we have to become involved in this restructuring in a positive way to build and restructure and create a better school, a better machine, that might hopefully serve the needs of the children when they come. We have to change the attitudes of teachers. We have to change the expectations the teachers hold, specifically for migrant children. I believe we have to look at teacher training. We talk about the school system being outdated and outmoded; perhaps the only institution that tops this list is the teacher-training institution. We have made some very fallacious assumptions about the training of teachers. We have stated that a teacher's knowledge of subject matter is more important than his atitudes about children and about himself. We need to make some drastic changes in our teacher training institutions. And hopefully I see some of these changes coming. I think we have to be involving ourselves in in-service training, continuing training for people at all levels after they leave our universities where *we know* they are not trained but where they have been given birth, where they have been started on their training. We have to join ranks with State Departments, the federal government, universities, and local school districts in continuing the type of training over a long period of time that will make good teachers better and will make some of those teachers that are not very good to begin with at least able to survive. We must at least get them to the point where they are not damaging the children with whom they are in the classroom. We have to take a look at curriculum. Our curriculum must be changed. I believe we have been belabored with the idea that children automatically blossom forth through our curriculum. This just does not happen. This is a fallacious assumption. I also believe schools must become accountable and responsible to the school community they serve. I believe we have to stop looking for simple answers to the very complex problems that face us in education. We are never going to find our answers to the problems I have talked about this morning in textbooks, in workbooks, in new buildings, in higher salaries, or by providing racial balance in schools. These are not going to be panaceas for the problem. I think the first and perhaps the most difficult thing we will ever be asked to do is to put *ourselves* in the profession and to begin there, to look at ourselves as individuals and begin there. We must begin with the individual teachers and help them to see and grow and develop. I think that your role as consultants is to lift, to guide, to motivate, to inspire, to bring more ideas into school districts, to help them see and perceive the problems and help them find answers to them. Perhaps you are going to shake up some school districts. You may be responsible and instrumental in shaking up some teacher education departments. You may be instrumental in bringing about some changes in the ridiculous methods we have in evaluation of our migrant program. You may become reformers. Because certainly the methods and the procedures that we are using in an attempt to evaluate programs hamper in many respects what we are attempting to do with the children. I see that our hope for providing better education is with migrant children, with migrant education. We can revolutionize and we can reform education in America by doing it in our migrant program. We do it first and foremost by beginning with the individual, the teacher, all of those who are responsible for making migrant education more effective. "Your task: to build a better world, God said. I answer, 'How? This world is such a large, vast place, so complicated now, and I'm so small and useless, and there's nothing that I can do.' But God in all his wisdom said, 'Just build a better you.'"

I believe that adequate education begins with the teacher. And without adequate education, America cannot heal the divisions that threaten her life as a free society. For us in education it is imperative, because it is the only way we can make good on the promise that we have held before the American people for a century: that through education mankind can indeed become master of his own destiny.

I see us standing today at the morning in education. Most of us are still in bed. Some of us unfortunately are still asleep. But the time is approaching when we are going to have to wake up. We are going to have to get up. We are going to have to get dressed for a very long and arduous day's work that is ahead of us. And perhaps through our efforts, through our dedication, through our insights, through our dreaming new dreams we will, from what has proven to be a long night's journey in education, be led into a brighter day. And we will lead migrant children into a brighter day, for them, for their families. We will be able to mold and shape their lives and prepare them to become useful, productive, full-participating citizens.

One day last summer I was in Chicago in early morning in a classroom full of beautiful black children. The following week I was in a classroom in Southwestern Michigan in a classroom full of beautiful Spanish-speaking American children. And on both occasions I saw these children stand with their teacher and I heard them say, "One nation, under God, indivisible,

with liberty and justice for all." And I had cold chills up and down my spine because I believe I realized much more completely than these very young children that they were mouthing an American dream and that unless we make some changes in American education it never is going to become an American reality. This dream will never become a reality for these children until people like ourselves begin to make some of the changes that might someday, hopefully in the very near future, make it possible for this American dream to become indeed a reality. I think we must begin dreaming dreams for migrant children, for black children, for all children. And we must diligently search to find meaningful answers, solutions to these dreams that we dream. A young man from Michigan sent me this poem a few weeks ago. He is in the 6th grade and it goes:

"Who has seen the poor walk by,
Who has seen the hungry cry,

"Who has watched an old man die,
Perhaps we have, you and I.

"Who offers help as the poor man nears,
Who will dry the hungry's tears,
Who will calm that old man's fears,
Perhaps we will, you and I."

MARY HARBAGE

Professor of Education
Wright State University

The Mobile Disadvantaged

Mary Harbage

We have reached a place where all of us in education had better set aside the text books, the curricula guides, the tools of learning, and work hard helping all children build a positive self concept, find values, check his attitudes, gain skill in human relations, and "become" more nearly his full self actualizing, self propelling self.

It matters not what his background is, whether his is advantaged or disadvantaged or one of the families you meet in

JUDY'S JOURNEY — *Lenski*

BLUE WILLOW — *Gates*

THE LITTLE HOUSE ON WHEELS — *Benedict*

HELLO-GOODBYE — *Felt*

RUN REDDY RUN — *Johnson*

A PLACE FOR JOHNNY — *Bill*

BRIGHT SUMMER — *Nendler*

MILLIE — *Huk*

THE GRAPES OF WRATH — *Steinbeck*

THE ARK — *Benary-Isbert*

TRAVELS WITH CHARLEY — *Steinbeck*

for these are —

THE MOBILE DISADVANTAGED

I can remember dozens of what I call disadvantaged-advantaged children—boys and girls from broken homes, those who knew poverty, some to whom violence was an ever-threatening part of life; neglect their daily portion.

But the migrant child comes and goes like a sorry wraith. I do remember big liquid eyes, faint shy smiles, tousled hair, unkempt clothing, overwhelming fatigue — but few unique individuals. His nothingness in time and space, his driven mobility make him the saddest of the disadvantaged. He frequently is and often remains a complete nobody.

But like the other advantaged-disadvantaged I have known, and I use both words, for whether it is:

Dominique or Ellen
Tammy or Herbert
Tommy or Harold
Ginnie or Carl
Mom Chai or Connie

or any of the others I shall mention, each child faces almost overwhelming problems; yet each has some strength which, when found and built upon, can open the way for that child or even a youth to become more nearly advantaged.

Quite early in my teaching career I decided that I was not the only one to give, that each child came bringing unknown gifts — gifts for me, gifts for himself. There have been times when I almost despaired of finding the asset in some child. Tommy was a whiner, a sniffler, a fighter, a complainer. As far as academic work was concerned he was seemingly capable of nothing. The art teacher and I looked at those all too ready fists in near despair. Then one day in the studio Jo gave each student a glob of clay. After a few minutes the two teachers gathered the rest of the first graders together and all watched while a mother and a small giraffe came into being under deft and swift fingers — attached to those hostile fists. The giraffe family was glazed, fired, and with due ceremony placed on a box billowingly covered with teacher's best silk scarf, in the display case near the entrance of the school. There is an almost fairy tale ending to this story. Tommy began to talk rather than whine, play rather than fight; those hands were too, too important to waste in a fight, and what is more he learned to read!

When thinking of troubled children I always remember a traditional fairy tale, "Beauty and the Beast." Too many boys and girls are like the beast in that they are caught in ugly, forbidding prisons and can only be freed by the compassion or tears, kindness and understanding of one who loves and tries to see within.

Disadvantaged-advantaged children became my teachers introducing me to strange and varied modes of living. While doing this they also taught me to:

Be friendly — warm
Watch and observe carefully
Listen with my eyes as well as my ears
Try to see how they might feel — to walk in their shoes
Move and speak slowly giving them that extra bit of time
Pick up the lead
Wait — and then move swiftly as the way opened up
Let me introduce you to a few —

Carl had every material advantage. An only and over-protected child he was locked within himself in silence. For the most of two school years he did not speak. Often tears rolled down cheeks as he longingly watched the others play.

Connie's parents and even her grandparents belonged to the jet set. The maid who came for conferences couldn't have cared less. Connie's communication skills were limited to giving orders and this mode of talk was hardly acceptable to her peers. I used to watch her leaving school in solitary grandeur looking longingly out the back window of a car, cut off from even the chauffeur. Carl and Connie were both "disadvantaged-advantaged" or should I say advantaged-disadvantaged.

I sampled a bit of Herbert's home life when his mother, armed with a butcher knife, came to school to teach that teacher "somethin'." Herbert's learning capacity for what I had to offer was pitifully low; my idea of what a teacher should do in a classroom most inadequate.

Ginny, my first key wearer, had a father who was a wanderer. Her mother worked at the bowling alley until well into the night. Ginny was bringing herself up. In getting ready for school she ignored all aspects of good grooming. Her long bedraggled hair became more matted each week. The once pretty party dress had made a swift transition from soiled, to dirty, to filthy.

Tammy was wise in the ways of a farm and the out of doors but completely unacquainted with school language, conversation, school ways, books, pencils, and papers. The first thing we did was to give Tammy a test. Never having had a pencil before he was completely carried away and marked everything in the booklet. Tammy was soon declared a retarded child.

George crawled around on the floor, hid under the tables, and once in a while he looked around a screen at the rest of us – all the time making the strangest of noises.

The twins, Jerry and Frank, were looked upon as moochers, beggars, and it was even suggested that they might, on occasion, take things which weren't their own.

Eddie, almost half again larger than anyone in his class, as a Jr. Hi student, spent three-fourths of his day standing out in the hall, looking for more trouble.

A gypsy, a true daughter of Romany, came and went with the changing seasons, taking things with her which the public schools felt belonged to them. I wonder –

With great hope a group of us planned an after-work educational program for the children of migrant families who came into a southern state, stayed long enough to pick beans, and then moved on. All of our beautifully worked out plans were set aside as we watched these boys and girls trudge or drag themselves wearily in from the fields. We set one kind of education aside for another – one more important. The kind I call "fundamental." These children learned how it felt to take a warm shower and get really clean; to slide into a few clean clothes; not to nap but to sleep; and to wake up to the smell of a good big meal being served. There wasn't much time left for the other things we had planned, nor was there money for needed materials. We finished off our time together with a story or a song, a few games and were more than content.

This was not good – it helped – but it wasn't enough, not nearly enough. We didn't help each of these wanderers become an important somebody. One of the best ways to become an important person is through the ability to communicate, the language arts.

We feel that these children bring nothing to school with them, but this is not the case. They bring their tiredness – there is no push, little go. They are almost apathetic. They show little awareness of noise. After all, they live within a constant welter of it.

They live, if you can call it this, within a crush of things. No spot, no place is really their own.

If they have any attitude about school at all it is usually a negative one. There has been little involvement with people living beyond the expedient level and none with positive ideas. What has book learning done for their parents? Practically nothing, so what can it be expected to do for them? Angry people and their angry children can't see much hope in ideals.

Some of these children have had few opportunities for building a fund of background working knowledge on which they can draw. Their collection of concepts is meager and confused. They know only so much about cause and effect. They don't know how to organize or relate. They have had futile experience in classifying, following through or sequencing.

This nothing of a child, overwhelmed by frustrations and his sense of failure, comes to school – and the very word itself brings added anxieties and new fears.

What do we do for this child? We test him. We grade him. We segregate him and put him with those most like himself. And we have a hundred ways of telling him that he is more of a failure than he dreamed he was – the turn of a shoulder, taking a step backward, the veiled over patient tone of voice, a quick censorious look, a superior smile. All of these shout at him and verify his feelings of nothingness, of worthlessness, of failure.

Many children are not articulate when they come to school and they soon learn that it is wise to become even less so. Some parrot answers are rewarded with teacher smiles, with words of approval. Still others seem to bring forth bursts of anger and constant reprimands. Actually it is safer to clam up –.

> Why do they fail? They fail because they are afraid, bored, and confused . . . School feels like this to children: It is a place where they make you go and where they tell you to do things and where they try to make your life unpleasant if you don't do them and don't do them right.
>
> John Holt
> WHY CHILDREN FAIL
> (Dell, 1964)

Because we are so everlastingly busy, teacher and administrator alike, with a certain amount of meaningless trivia we haven't time to help

these children find their way out of their prisons – but each one has a possible escape route and when it is found he can start "becoming;" becoming more self-fulfilled, more self-actualizing, more of his own unique worthwhile self.

Herbert of the knife and Eddie of the hall took over a multitude of responsibilities and made classroom living infinitely easier for others. (I, who use up sharp pencils as swiftly as some people eat peanuts, could reach for one without looking to see if it was sharp. Audio-visual materials were delivered on schedule and kept in working order.)

Susan had become quite a reader and was "on call" to go to classrooms to read aloud. Picture books can be large and cumbersome – so Herbert went along to hold the book, turn the pages, and to offer moral support. After one such venture the duo returned to the room, both parties smiling triumphantly. I quietly blessed Susan when she said with deep conviction, "My, but Herbert is a help."

Words and books may have been foreign stuff to Tammy but he could read people and situations accurately and swiftly. He rushed to me on the playground, pulled on my sleeve and shouted, "Hey!" I followed the line of his pointing finger only to see Maurey teetering on top of the slide. We both ran and, I might add, we were too late.

Given half a chance Tammy could gather knowledge swiftly and in great detail. There were days when I went into Cincinnati immediately after school to have dinner and then to become lost in a sea of beautiful music. (No matter where I am, what conductors and artists I hear, the Cincinnati symphony remains my favorite.) On this particular day I wore one of my prettiest dresses to school – one with a velvet collar. Velvet was completely new to Tammy. During story time he kept edging closer and closer to me. By some kind of unspoken communication he convinced Jon to move a bit and Tammy reached my side. He touched the velvet, he rubbed the nap one way and then the other – his eyes wide as he noted the change. He took a good long sniff. And finally, with a questioning look in his eye, he touched it with the tip of his tongue. Apparently satisfied he settled down. He now knew many of the properties of velvet.

One of Tammy's first sentences came as he walked down the hall backward looking at that phenomenon, teacher in a hat. (I don't wear one often but when I do 'tis worthy of attention.) As Tammy took in the effect of the feathered creation he found words, "You got turkeys?"

Once the dirt was removed and she was freshly dressed, Ginny was revealed as pretty, gay, and intelligent. I had wanted to cut her matted locks but was glad I had desisted when she appeared with two braids wound into neat little buns over her ears.

When the truth was discovered, Jerry and his twin reminded me again that "to understand is to forgive."

Talents in song, ability to work with their hands, swift compassion, fierce loyalty – these gifts were all revealed by the disadvantaged.

We say these children are not experienced – and we are wrong. They are too experienced in some ways – but not in matters relating to schools and books, talking and listening, paper and pencils. What we mean is that they are not experienced in the way *we* want them to be. Yet we are being paid to do the educating.

We must, if we want these children to be competent communicators, learn to accept them and the language patterns they bring to school. We nag at children, we harp at them telling them over and over again that their language is "wrong." No one died and left us in charge of the English language. A few teachers don't listen to what is being said – they listen for the errors so that they can boost their middle class egos by pointing out mistakes. Each time we say, "Now don't say that again," we may be rejecting a good idea, an initial attempt at self expression, or an individual himself. English is a growing, changing, vivid thing.

At the corner of 120th Street and Amsterdam in New York City, I felt a small hand firmly grasp mine. Immediately I was told, "Cross me." I wondered if these instructions had some religious connotation but fortunately the traffic light changed. My companion stepped out bravely with me in tow. These Puerto Rican children were told they must not cross the busy street alone and T.C. students served to ferry the small fry back and forth.

If someone calls a pencil a stick is that so dreadful? Telling someone to "fade" rather than "run" is a vivid description of the melting out of sight done by some boys. And if I get tired of using a tooth brush I can call it a pearl pusher and enjoy it a bit more. Hearing a youngster say to his companion "Let's take our eaches and get," needs no translation. And his companion wouldn't think of saying, "Don't you know better than that? You should say 'You take your marbles and I will take those belonging to me. Then perhaps we should go home.'" Such phrases might have ended a budding friendship.

There are many things which help each child "become" and the most important are warm, sensitive persons who treat each individual with dignity and respect, who are kind, friendly and stable, flexible, inventive and imaginative – and most of all, accepting. These teachers are the ones who know that there are many paths to any single goal – and that each goal must be weighed as to its appropriateness, its value.

One set of tasks should be well in hand before we move ahead with any child. He must be helped to feel good, to be clean and realize that he is suitably clothed, to have two good meals and, if he needs it, another at school.

Then, we have to help a nobody become a somebody. One of the amazing things is how much it helps to have one place, one spot that is a child's very own. This can be as simple as a decorated cardboard box clearly marked with a name, a strong cardboard book case, a good sized cubby hole, a locker. Hopefully it should be more than a place to put a sweater – we want many of these children to become short term collectors of valuable (to them) junk. A full length mirror would be the second thing I would add to a room. At first children will laugh at that mirrored self and back a bit away. Best you stand beside them for the initial look so that they can recognize that mirrored self.

Next, get a Polaroid camera. Use it frequently and learn to use it effectively. Let them find a sense of real identity as they observe themselves in photograph after photograph.

And all the time you are working with them "tuck" talk around the doing. Reading, writing, listening, and speaking are really all one; starting and developing hand in hand. These, the language arts, are the areas which open many closed doors. They make the past, the present, as well as time beyond the now, our own. Through them we can know the great people of all times, the near-great, the tawdry, and the lost.

Experiences with language should be pleasant ones. Speaking, with its concommitant listening, is the most important of the language arts for disadvantaged boys and girls. In addition to accepting the child's language patterns the teacher herself will need to do a certain amount of talking – to prime the pump as it were. Within this talk there will be many pauses, many unspoken or quietly offered invitations for others to speak. And of course the teacher will be using standard, conventional language. As in so much of our work with disadvantaged children many talking-listening times should be on a 1 to 1 basis. In this type of talking situation the advantages, social and economic, of using conventional language in certain situations can be explored with older students.

The 1 to 1 situations can at times move to discussions and conversations in small groups. Help a small group of teenagers start to talk; then go away and leave them around a tape recorder. After this you become the student of language as you replay and listen carefully.

Then use the tape recorder yourself. Teachers need to listen to themselves. Are the things they are saying worth listening to? Are they, like the brook, going on and on forever? No one can be blamed for "tuning-out" a fusser, a complainer.

We take listening for granted, not giving it the place of importance it deserves in language development. It implies much more than the response to directions and orders. In time, it comes to mean being attentive as teacher and students discuss, suggest, explain, and converse. And always it is the key to learning the way of words and thoughts.

It is greatly to the advantage of the teacher to speak in a soft clear tone with these boys and girls who have been bombarded with shouts and yells. And she will also see that the noise level of the room varies. There will be times of blessed quiet, times filled with a busy hum, and the noisier times when all are actively and busily engaged.

There should be at least one time every day when the teacher reads aloud to every age group – stories, poems, or books. These can be a brush with magic which can open up the whole area of reading and literature and make it a life long rewarding experience. Also, this listening time can lead to impromptu improvisations of a play or the lead for a dramatic production.

There should be time to hear the squeak of new shoes, the sound of thunder, the thump of hail, the song of the first spring bird, or the nothingness of sound in a snow covered world.

Talking, listening, and thinking have to be about something – they cannot occur in a vacuum. Some boys and girls are concept locked. There is so much they need to find out about this world, its laws, its lands, and its many creatures – human and otherwise. They must have abundant first hand experiences – opportunities to taste, touch, see, hear, and smell. They need help in learning to gather meaning, someone to sniff the flowers with them, someone to also relish the taste of gingerbread, someone to give them earphones and special glasses. And they need to find the tools of learning in things, realia, rather than in text and tome.

Disadvantaged boys and girls need to live in an environment that is rich, stimulating, and varied. Things help greatly. Two toy telephones come next on the list of necessities for young children. Hats of all varieties help and it's our job to see that heads are in such a condition that hats can be exchanged. Puppets and a stage to hide behind have helped many a shy speaker.

Young boys and girls need all kinds of household and play things as they try on life (like we used to take dresses on and off paper dolls) to see how it fits.

A starter list for youngsters could include:

- Sink
- Stove
- Clean up things
- Dishes
- Silver
- Dolls
- Bed
- Blocks and boards
- Things to crawl through, over, and under
- Film strips
- Pots and pans
- Table and chairs
- Rocking chairs
- Desk
- Shopping cart
- An old auto
- Wheel toys—wagons, wheel barrows, trucks, trikes
- Boxes and more boxes
- Dress-up things
- Tapes

Bringing a pet into the life of a speech-locked child can be the needed key. The first sounds of affection I ever heard from one child came as he talked to our lamb.

It is exciting to cook and then eat the product of your efforts. A lot of learning goes into making 15 servings of Brown Betty or 6 pans of gingerbread. The nicest party I have been to this summer was a jam, butter and biscuit one. The young cooks smacked their lips as they tasted the fruits of their labor. There are many easy side trips which can be rich in learnings for a child in addition to the usual; the museum, the places of business and industry, the farm, the library, and the zoo.

Going around a city block really noticing, hearing, and seeing.

Walking through the woods in the same way.

Going to visit a baby – out in the yard in a play pen.

Taking a ride on a street car or bus; if possible, a train or a plane.

Unhurriedly exploring a pond in the spring.

Going through a department or a hardware store.

Knowing all the joy and pain of making choices as one goes on a 50¢ shopping spree. (Buying a real rose, mid winter)

A simple version of a Charm School can do wonders for middle or upper grade girls. My office, in one school, was in one of the areas bordering disadvantaged. The boys and girls of Lincoln School took over all the dull routine jobs I dreaded. They collated, stapled, and counted out for distribution the Language Arts Bulletins, they handled the library, changed the bulletin boards. Now and then I took a group out for pizza and spumoni plus the leavening of a little salad at one of our best Italian restaurants. The first group of girls I took went into hysterical giggles as a man opened the car door and helped them out. In fact giggles punctuated every activity. With the help of our "Charm School" they learned to enjoy themselves mightily on these excursions, but were not nearly as easily embarrassed.

To listen to a good folk singing group and be invited to join in has been a rewarding, toe tapping experience. A square dance group demonstrated and finally brought embarrassed boys and shy girls into each square who were soon caught up in the fun of it all. To watch or be a magician's aid, to help make a doll dress, to help build a peanut butter and jelly sandwich, to be an assistant as a hide-away or a tree house comes into being, to discover the comfort of being rocked a bit; these are all rewarding experiences.

We have multiple playgrounds for adults – bowling alleys, theatres, dance halls. And so few really good play places for children. Great Britain and Denmark have moved far ahead in creating children's villages – playgrounds where there are all sorts of wonderful things.

I wish I could give each growing child a Madison County farm with Little Darby Creek running through it. There were hills and trees, a companion dog and a clutter of cats, little pigs and calves, and once in a while a foal. Helpful adults on the edge were ready to help but not inclined to infringe. And, most important, there was lots of free flowing lovely time in which to imagine and pretend, investigate and explore, make and do. Every adult working with children should read again, *Where Did You Go? Out. What Did You Do? Nothing.*[1] – nothing but a great deal of learning and discovering.

Some of the disadvantaged come to us as readers in the sense that they can gather meaning from situations. We have helped them build and organize into their background knowledge many concepts. They have done some genuine learning about causes and effect, particularly about sequencing, through creative dramatics, have had initial experiences with classification and organization, and through much oral expression have become more wise in the way of words.

Tammy, the inarticulate, helped me prepare the mid morning snack one day. As he held the box of straws up he said, "It looks like a bee hive." These words were immediately incorporated into a three line story with Tammy's name at its close.

We broke out in a rash of story telling, chart making, and reading. Lynore and Virginia hurried into the room, just a little late. They could hardly wait to tell what they had seen.

It was raining Ginko leaves.
The walk was covered.
There was a solid path of them.
Lee, a mite sized clown, told this one:
I went fishing with Daddy in Maine.
Something pulled on my line.
I ran to the car yelling, "Help, Daddy, help."
It was a big old fish.
Mommy canned it and it rotted.

These are good stories and there were literally hundreds of them. Only a few things went into their making a time for children to talk and/or write (without fear of being corrected either as to the subject or the patterns of speaking and writing), an appreciative audience (be it only one), someone to notice imagery and to point out the delightful use of words, and a satisfied feel of having made a genuine contribution.

Van Allen has pointed out that what a child can think can be said; what is said can be recorded; this can then be read and the whole

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[1]Robert Paul Smith – *Where Did You Go? Out. What Did You Do? Nothing.* (Norton)
K. E. Eble in his book calls play THE PERFECT EDUCATION (Macmillan, 1967).

experience re-enjoyed. While doing this boys and girls are learning about the structure of the language and its phonic content as well as starting to read printed material. I would hope that most disadvantaged children can be helped to develop reading skills on an individualized basis, moving from book to book as they move from interest to interest.

We have pushed too early and too hard in the matter of written expression. Some children will develop power in this area quite early in their school careers. They, with the teachers, become the scribes for the whole group.

But there will come a time when each child feels a need to write a message, copy a recipe, make a greeting card, or compose a letter.

Nancy, the more mature of a pair, wrote Howard a note one day and casually dropped it on his desk as she passed by. Now Howard was relatively uninitiated in reading and much less so in writing so he brought the note to me for translation. One quick look and I suggested to him that it was a rather personal message and read in a whisper, "I love you." Howard beamed.

I called a hasty conference with the two and said I realized that this was a rather personal matter but I would like to share this way of writing down talk with the rest of the class. They agreed that I might do this – afer all everyone knew that Howard liked Nancy and vice versa. So I pasted the note on an attractive background, told the class about it, put it up for all to admire, and sat back to see what happened. What happened was that the traffic pattern became so congested that we had to set aside a five minute period to get all the notes delivered.

There needs to be, always, some real reason to write (like writing a manuscript of a speech for purposes of distribution) and trumped up reasons aren't enough. Too often when someone does write at our insistence we take a red pencil and make critical remarks all over it. This procedure is calculated to alienate all students from putting their thoughts on paper.

We expect all children to be so eternally verbal – we are, we learned this way, yet not all of us are alike.[2] Try giving inexpensive cameras to a group of non-verbal students – then give them an assignment; perhaps "a wall." First photographs will simply show a wall – sky above, earth below. Try it again later. All kinds of subtle variations will come – a small vine emerging from a crannie, the pattern of fallen rocks. Play "who, what, when, and where" with camera; or "alike and different." Or give students all kinds of art and junk materials out of which to express feelings – jealousy, anger, hurt, and despair.

Let them listen, script or poem or story in hand, to its being read aloud by record or tape. I wish I could establish many listening posts. Wouldn't it be fun to listen, as you turn the pages of the book, to the school superintendent reading *The Three Tailors*? Let older ones discuss (around a tape recorder) the wording, the appeal, of collected ads from popular magazines and the daily papers. Select any TV show and do an analysis of plot, characterization, climax, etc.

Almost any teacher, and particularly those of the disadvantaged, would do well to set aside testing and the giving of grades. I turn to *Dibs*.[3]

> "What are the purposes of examinations, anyhow? Are they to increase our educational attainment? Or are they instruments used to bring suffering and humiliation and deep hurt to a person who is trying so hard to succeed."

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[2]We have been saying this for years. When will we really believe it and adapt our practices in terms of the belief?

[3]Virginia Axline—*Dibs in Search of Self*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964.

I would also suggest that teachers of the disadvantaged, of all boys and girls desert the established curriculum and the dreary texts. Introduce the new, experiment with the untried.

Learn to develop jokes and laughter with the group. I was once known as the teacher who played April Fool the very best.

Let students make plans and activate them either facing their mistakes or anticipating them. One young group was carried away and invited everyone they knew to a watermelon party. As the guests assembled and the hosts viewed the "shrinking" watermelon they calmly invited some guests "to go home now and come back tomorrow." Poor children, they had another difficult time when they decided to show some "outlanders" how delicious turnip greens and corn bread might be. The corn bread recipe was tripled and they purchased what they felt were scads of turnip greens. If you have ever watched greens shrink to almost nothing you know that, again, there had to be two parties.

Don't make these students "pay" for everything they read or do or say by having them fill in blanks, draw lines under, over, around, or between words. We have made it all so "worky" when actually learning is exciting fun.

Make it possible for students to make real decisions and activate them. Let there be self-selection. Set up many ways to legally work off tensions and frustration.

Perhaps what I am saying was best summarized by one of my very fine students, Elizabeth Hatcher.

Be pupil-oriented instead of subject-oriented.

Be accepting, believing there is good in every human being.

Do not impose middle-class standards.

Avoid using threats – give needed security.

Have a sympathetic understanding of the results of poverty.

Be sensitive.

Be tolerant.

Have ego-strength.

Have the ability to laugh at one's self.

Be flexible.

Be prepared for conditions before facing them.

Have patience.

Have successful activities – success builds on success.

Work should be interesting and non-tedious.

Work should give immediate gratification.

Use concrete examples – manipulative materials.

Use non-printed material as often as possible.

Develop students' listening ability.

Develop process instead of content.

Use short, compact exercises, especially games.

Do less telling and demonstrating, get pupil involvement.

Invite parents and children to help in curriculum building.

Elizabeth continues,

> "Leon Eisenberg indicates that our ghetto (and it could just as well be migrant) child has significant strengths which can be capitalized on in educational planning.[4] These include cooperativeness and mutual aid extending beyond family, collective group values rather than individualistic, status and prestige minimized, freedom from family overprotection and more readiness to accept responsibility for family chores, superior physical coordination and skill, orientation to environment which is more physical and visual rather than auditory, extrospection rather than introspection, concrete rather than abstract, slow, careful, patient, cognitive style rather than clever and easy, lessened sibling rivalry, abiliy to express anger.
>
> Our curriculum must be based on the positive possibilities of the student. The burdens and barriers must not be emphasized. The complaints that they cannot read, that they fight too much, that they are too noisy, that they cannot learn must be minimized. I believe as Kenneth Clark believes, that they'll learn if taught, accepted, respected, and approached as if they are human beings."[5]

Accept the student's offering however it comes and consider it with him – again on a *one to one basis.* Recognize his mood and give him time. Anyone pushed into a corner has no time to think or consider, to weigh values – he fights back.

Actually the kind of school I visualize would be something akin to a community service center. Laundry and drying facilities would be available as would showers, towels, soap and clean clothes. There would be plenty of good food, haircuts and every so often a movie. The clinic would be open all day and through the evening.

Class work would be done for the most part on a tutorial or individual basis with frequently changing flexible groupings. Facilities would be available for every member of the family – if they have the energy to get there.

The stuff of learning would be in centers of interest around the swimming pool, in the gym, in a home economics classroom, or the parks, the library, the shop, or classrooms.

Each student would select and pursue avidly the areas of his or her choice. There would be:

Sports
- Swimming
- Volley & basketball
- Roller skating
- Hop scotch
- Horse shoes
- Judo
- A charm school
- Knitting
- Camping–cooking out
- Table games
- Slimnastics
- First aid
- Practical nursing
- Entertainment
  - Movies
  - Concerts
    - Piano
    - Vocal
- Cooking
- Sewing
  - Simple dress making
  - Little theatre
  - Puppetry
  - Woodworking
  - Reading for fun
  - Story telling
  - Singing
  - Square dancing
  - Model building
  - Practical politics

Text books would be relegated to the tops of cupboards and "things" (realia could take their place. Books? Yes, many of them – but not as texts. These books would be sources of pleasure, information and delight. Let's look at a few of the examples of "realia":

Dishes – make a beautiful plate, cup and saucer.

A clock, take apart, put together.

Intercom system

Smell – sage, vanilla, coffee, lemon, turpentine, cocoa, celery seed.

Taste – freshly baked bread, gingerbread, fruit.

Touch–textures, velvet, plastic, brocade, fur.

Measuring time and space:
- Map
- Ruler
- Calendar
- Egg timer

A branch - beaver tooth marks

A pine cone

A rock

Bird nests – eggs

Classify:
- Man made things
- Nature made
- Man adapted

Kinds of metals

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[4]NSSE Yearbook, *The Educationally Retarded and Disadvantaged,* Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 29.

As the disadvantaged-advantaged grow, learn and become, they will give each teacher riches to last all through the year. Each success is a triumph and few are small.

One day George crawled out from under a table to watch a fire engine go shrieking by. The next day he joined the group and listened to at least half of a fire engine story.

The song of the little gypsy lifted all the ache and tiredness from my weary bones. So what if she left with a box of crayons in her pocket? I put them there myself.

Eddie stumbled over his feet and blushed to the roots of his hair (and one teacher gasped) as he came forward to receive a well deserved citizenship award.

Jon, the most popular boy in the class, saved a seat beside him for Ginny.

Watching the power of a good idea excite children is breathtaking. After a fifth grade had studied some of the pioneers in our area and had been particularly impressed by Johnnie Appleseed, they decided that they must so live that they would become "good ancestors."

Jerry and Frank, the twins, had shaken their heads dismally whenever questioned about their milk money. I had been digging into my coin purse to make up for their deficits. Then on this mid-February morning they put an outsize valentine under the overflowing box. Ruefully I estimated the cost of this heart – more than several bottles, of milk. I hardly needed to be told but I had to listen –

"We saved all our milk money," said Jerry.

"We spent it all on this one," added Frank.

Operation "Open and Look" came to a sudden halt as the huge envelope was placed in my hands. From the envelope there emerged a vast limousine of gold and white cardboard, held together with honeycombs of red and pink tissue paper. Doves, cupids, and hearts perched at precarious angles and hovered over a lovely lady and her handsome escort. The group gasped in unison. It was a valentine beyond imagination's wildest fancy.

Did they hear me murmur gratefully, "A solid gold milk truck."

It was all I could do to keep my composure one morning when I lightly tapped Carl's closed hand and asked, "Is there something interesting in there?"

All in one breath he said, "I call it my jelly stone. It's white on the top and bottom and pink in-between."

One time when I returned to the basin school in which I had taught as an alternative to speech making I took Helen Mackintosh with me. The teacher wished to talk with us and suggested that the boys and girls make pictures of the guests.

There is Helen, pink cheeked, blue eyed, looking very gay in her bright green suit. My red and black print dress is easily distinguishable – and in every picture I am as soft a dusky brown as the students I had grown to love.

Colin A. Scott, more than fifty years ago, talked about love of learning in a notice published in 1909 in Education, he said:

> "Nothing is taught until it is learned. Nothing is learned until it is loved and willed an essential and indispensable portion of life . . . The other kinds of learning will not die, they do not need to die because they were never alive. Their phrases may be learned by rote, may be carved in marble or melted into bronze, may be required by examinations, and solidified into courses of study, and yet they never come alive. They never pass from heart to heart, they are never really taught. Only that which reproduces itself continuously by passing from one to another is alive."

Love and learning go from heart to heart easily when there is someone whose heart encompasses your cares and woes. We must strive to help them find life and learning both worthwhile. They may even discover with Charlie Brown that "Happiness is finding out you're not so dumb after all."

Once these children find that they can change themselves, they may realize that they can also change their world.

If today is good, tomorrow can be better!

RALPH F. ROBINETT

Director
Bilingual Curriculum Development
FLICS (Foreign Language Innovative Curricula Studies)
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Pronunciation Problems of Spanish Speaking Migrant Children

Ralph F. Robinett

Bowling Green, [illegible]8

There are in any language many more sounds than the speakers of that language commonly recognize. In Spanish, for example, there are two different /d/ sounds, as in the word *dedo.* The first /d/ sound in *dedo* is pronounced with the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth. The second /d/ sound in *dedo* is pronounced with the tongue between the teeth, and is similar to the sound represented by *th* in the English word *they.* In spite of having two different /d/ sounds in Spanish, Spanish speakers do not normally realize that they are using two different /d/ sounds because these two sounds never come in contrast with each other. Where the first sound occurs, the second does not. Where the second occurs, the first does not. These two sounds function together as a unit in the language, and this distinctive unit is called a phoneme.

In English we have both of the sounds mentioned above, with minor variations. The English /d/ as in *day* is pronounced with the tongue a little further back from the teeth than the similar sound in Spanish. In English, the second sound, as represented by *th* in *they,* does come into contrast with /d/, that is, it occurs in the same positions in words, and English speakers use this difference to distinguish meaning, as for example *day* versus *they, there* versus *dare,* and *those* versus *doze.* In English, instead of these two sounds functioning as a single unit, as one phoneme, they function as two distinct phonemes. They are each distinctive sound units in English, while in Spanish they are non-distinctive sounds. These differences between the way sounds function as distinctive sounds, or phonemes, and the way they function as non-distinctive sounds, or allophones, are a primary source of difficulty for the speakers of Spanish as they learn English.

It seems advisable at this point to insert a caution, reminding ourselves that here we will be talking primarily about the sounds and the ways they occur in the language. We will not ordinarily be concerned with the letters of the regular alphabet. The sounds are units in the language itself, and letters are simply ways of representing the sounds.

When we concern ourselves with the sound units that we are going to teach, we must be aware of the problems they will present to the learner. These problems arise basically from the differences between the English sound system and the Spanish sound system. By comparing the two systems, we can anticipate what the learner's problems will be. The two vowel charts following are schematic representations of the vowel sounds of English and the vowel sounds of Spanish. The charts are not intended to show actual points of articulation. The squares in each vowel chart suggest the relative positions and ranges of the sounds in each language. We may see, then, in Spanish there is only one high front vowel while in English there are two. Thus the range of a Spanish speaker's high front vowel sound covers the range of both English vowel sounds. A native speaker of Spanish might pronounce a word like *cívico* and in doing so articulate more than one type of Spanish /i/. Such a distinction for him would be non-phonemic. A native speaker of English, on the other hand, might pronounce a word like *seating* and use vowels very similar to those in Spanish *cívico.* The English speaker would be using two different contrastive phonemes, as in words like *seat* and *sit.* A Spanish speaker who is learning English, then may be expected to have difficulty in distinguishing the English sounds in words like *beat* and *bit* because his own Spanish sound /i/ covers the range of both high front English vowels.

English vowel sounds

beat		pool
bit		pull
bait	but	coat
bet		
bat		caught
	cot	

Spanish vowel sounds

ti	tu
se	so
da	

Other points of difficulty we can expect as a result of comparing the vowel systems of the two languages are as follows:

The vowel sounds in *bait* and *bet*

This contrast does not present as much difficulty on the recognition level because of the diphthongal quality of English /e/ as in *bait.* Production is more of a problem until the Spanish speaker learns to give English /e/ its diphthongal quality.

The vowel sounds in *bit* and *bet*

The vowel sound in English *bit* is relatively low, bordering on Spanish /e/, thus the Spanish speaker may interpret English *bit* as being like English *bet.* Conversely, Spanish /e/ may range fairly high and be interpreted by English speakers as the vowel of English *bit.*

The vowel sounds in *bat* and *bet*

The vowel in English *bat* is low and forward. As Spanish speakers try to produce the vowel sound in *bat,* they often raise

it so English speakers confuse it with the vowel sound in *bet*, or they produce it further back in the mouth so English speakers confuse it with the /a/ sound as in *hot*. In producing the vowel sound in *bet*, Spanish speakers may lower it to such an extent that English speakers hear it as the vowel sound in *hat*.

The vowel sounds in *hat* and *hot*

The Spanish speaker may produce the vowel sound in *hut* in such a way that it is heard by English speakers as the vowel sound in *hot*, and the Spanish speaker may hear an English speaker's pronunciation of *hut* as if it were *hot*.

The vowel sounds in *cat, cot, cut*

Neither the vowel sound of *hut* nor the vowel sound of *hat* exist in Spanish as a separate phoneme, though both may occur as allophones of sounds which do exist in Spanish. The Spanish speaker's attempt to produce the vowel sound of *gnat*, as we have noted, may be interpreted as either the vowel sound of English *met* or English *not*. Likewise, the Spanish speaker may hear an English speaker's *gnat* as either *net* or *not*, depending on the quality of the vowel in the dialect of that particular speaker of English. The Spanish speaker's attempt to produce the vowel sound of *cut* may be heard by an English speaker as the vowel sound of *cot*, the vowel sound of *caught*, or even the vowel sound of *put*. Three-way contrasts are frequently useful in providing practice when multi-directional problems are involved.

The vowel sounds in *cot* and *caught*

This is not a common problem as far as production is concerned. Both of these vowels are low in English, while in Spanish there is only one low vowel, which is /a/. In some dialects of American English, the vowel sound of *caught* tends to be fronted and has little lip rounding. The Spanish speaker may as a result sometimes confuse English *caught* with English *cot*.

The vowel sounds in *but* and *bought*

The basic problem here is that Spanish speakers tend to both hear and produce the vowel sound of *but* as the vowel sound of *bought*. The English speaker, in turn, will hear the Spanish speaker's pronunciation of *but* as *bought*, or as indicated above, he may hear it as *box* or *books*.

The vowel sounds in *bought* and *boat*

On the recognition level there seems to be relatively little difficulty with these sound units for the Spanish speaker. The Spanish speaker, when producing the vowel sound of *boat*, commonly fails to give it the diphthongal quality it has in English, and native speakers of English react to the sound as if it were the vowel sound of *bought*. English speakers, for example, often have difficulty in distinguishing between *loan* and *lawn* as pronounced by Spanish speakers.

The vowel sounds in *pool* and *pull*

Spanish speakers when pronouncing their high back vowel sound may on occasion have a vowel sound as in English *pool* or they may make it somewhat lower, more like the English vowel in *pull*. English speakers are often at a loss to determine which of the sounds the Spanish speaker has pronounced when he is speaking English. If the sound has been quite high, it is interpreted as the nearest English sound, as in *pool*. If the sound has been somewhat lower, it is interpreted as English *pull*. Diphthongization does not play as important a role with these sounds, so the problem of recognizing a distinction between the vowel sounds of English *pool* and *pull* is as great a problem as is the production of the sounds. Even after the Spanish speaker has mastered the production of these two sounds, there is still confusion on occasion due to the *oo* spelling, which is common to both sounds, as for example, *food, loot, boot* with the higher sound, and *book, look, took* with the lower sound.

The vowel sounds in *putt* and *put*

As we have noted earlier, the mid central vowel as in *putt* may be interpreted variously within the five vowel system of Spanish. One of these interpretations on the part of Spanish speakers is the vowel sound of *put*. Just as the Spanish speaker hears *putt* as *put*, he also tries to produce *putt* with a high back vowel, and the English speaker then reacts as if it were *put*.

We have talked thus far about the major contrasts between the English and the Spanish vowel systems. A student who has mastered the problems presented above has come a long way on the road to "native-like" English sounds. One other feature of the English vowel system which the Spanish speaker must eventually deal with if he wishes to minimize his accent is the lengthening of vowels in certain distributions. Vowel length in English is closely associated with voicing of consonants.

Voicing is the vibration of the vocal cords as the air passes through the larynx. If there is strong vibration as the air passes through the larynx, the sound is called a voiced sound. If there is no vibration of the vocal cords as the air passes through the larynx, the sound is called a voiceless sound. You can test your own pronunciation of sounds to see if they are voiced or voiceless. Put your fingers on your larynx as you pronounce s-s-s-s-s-s and z-z-z-z-z-z. As you pronounce the /s/ sound there is no vibration. As you pronounce the /z/ sound you can feel the vibration of the vocal cords. When you feel this vibration, you know that the sound is voiced. A similar test of voicing is to put your hands over your ears as you pronounce the two sounds. As you pronounce the voiceless sound, the vi-

bration is not audible. As you pronounce the voiced sound, the vibration is like a roar in your head. The voiceless-voiced contrast in English is an important one – first because we use it to distinguish pairs of words that are otherwise similar, second, because it determines which pronunciation of the *s* endings and *ed* ending we will use on a particular word, and third, as mentioned earlier, it determines the length of the vowel sound which precedes the voiceless or voiced consonant.

The various *s* endings in English, the *s* ending for third person singular on verbs, the *s* ending for plural on nouns, and the *s* ending for genitive, have three different pronunciations. These different pronunciations are determined by the type of consonant sound at the end of the simple form. The ending may be pronounced /s/, /z/, or as a separate syllable. Once we know the "rule," that is, the statement of how the pronunciation is determined, we can apply it to countless new words as we learn them.

If the simple form of a word ends in a sibilant sound, we add a separate syllable.

Examples: *dress-dresses*
church-churches

If the simple form of a word ends in a voiceless sound that is not a sibilant, we add /s/.

Examples: *hat-hats*
walk-walks

If the simple form of a word ends in a voiced sound that is not a sibilant, we add /z/.

Examples: *dig-digs*
car-cars

The pronunciation of the *ed* ending, as we noted above, is also determined by the matter of voicing. There are three different pronunciations of the *ed* ending. They are /t/, /d/, and a separate syllable.

If the simple form of a word ends in a /t/ sound or a /d/ sound, we add the separate syllable.

Examples: *want-wanted*
need-needed

If the simple form of a word ends in a voiceless sound other than /t/, we add the ending /t/.

Examples: *walk-walked*
help-helped

If the simple form of a word ends in a voiced sound other than a /d/, we add the ending /d/.

Examples: *live-lived*
learn-learned

Vowel length in American English is generally considered not to be a distinctive sound feature. However, in words such as *neat* and *need*, the voicing contrast is not so obvious as it is at the beginning of words. In words such as *neat* and *need*, native speakers of English react to two signals, one being voicing and the other being vowel length. A student, then, who is having difficulty in producing a clear distinction between such words should be encouraged to lengthen the vowel sound before a voiced consonant, as in *need*, and keep the vowel sound relatively short before a voiceless consonant, as in *neat*.

Having dealt with the classification of English consonants and the way in which they affect the pronunciation of the *s* endings and the *ed* ending, we may now turn our attention to specific consonants which can be expected to cause problems for a native speaker of Spanish in his learning of English. Consonant contrasts which have proven particularly troublesome are the following:

The initial consonants in *think* and *sink*

The sound represented by the *th* in *think* occurs both in Spanish and English. In English, however, this sound is a distinctive unit and contrasts with other sounds in English such as its voiced counterpart in *the*. In many Spanish dialects, on the other hand, the voiceless "th" tends to occur only in school. In production, the Spanish speakers tend to substitute /s/, and thus they say *sink* instead of *think* and *sin* instead of *thin*.

The initial consonants in *then* and *den*

As we noted earlier, the voiced "th" sound in Spanish is a variation of the /d/ sound, while in English they are distinctive sound units. Spanish /d/, as Spanish /t/, is produced with the tongue touching the back of the upper teeth, as contrasted with English /d/, which is produced with the tongue touching back further on the tooth ridge. Production is a problem for Spanish speakers in that they tend to substitute their /d/ for English voiced "th" in initial positions and their voiced "th" for English /d/ where it occurs between vowels.

The initial consonants in *sink* and *zinc*

English /z/ is a problem for Spanish speakers because they have a tendency to produce the voiceless /s/ rather than the voiced /z/, and voicing is an important signalling feature between these sounds in words such as *sink* and *zinc*. After vowels, Spanish speakers often fail to give the conditioned vowel length occurring with voiced consonants in this position, and English speakers sometimes react to the Spanish speaker's word *news* as if it were *noose* and *lose* as if it were *loose*.

The initial consonants in *shoes* and *choose*

The English sound represented by *sh* as in *shoes* does not occur in Spanish (except perhaps when one is imitating a person

who has stayed too late at a drinking party), while the "sh" sound and the "ch" sound must be sharply differentiated when speaking English. The Spanish speaker has a tendency to pronounce his own Spanish "ch" rather than English "ch," and the native speaker of English does not know whether the Spanish speaker is saying *choose* or *shoes*, *chip* or *ship*, or *chin* or *shin*. This may be in part due to simple confusion as to which sound goes with which word, but it is also undoubtedly related to the quality of Spanish "ch," which is articulated in a somewhat different manner than English "ch."

The sibilant consonants in *usually* and *shoe*

The English sound represented by *s* in *usually*, like the English sound represented by *sh* in *shoe*, does not exist as a separate, contrastive sound in Spanish. Once the students have developed a fair degree of control over the "sh" sound, they may still have difficulty in pronouncing the voiced counterpart as in *usually* because of the problem of voicing.

The initial consonants in *choke* and *joke*

The "j" sound as we know it in English *joke* does not exist as a contrastive sound in Spanish. Spanish speakers sometimes fail to hear and produce the voicing contrast necessary in order to distinguish these two sounds as used by English speakers. Spanish speakers may pronounce, for example both *choke* and *joke* as *choke*.

The initial consonants in *Yale* and *jail*

As noted above, the English "j" sound as in *joke* does not occur in Spanish on a phonemic level. As a varient of Spanish /y/, the "j" sound may occur in words such as *yo*. The fact remains, however, that in English these sounds as in *yoke* and *joke* are two distinct sound units which are in contrast, and the Spanish speaker must learn to separate the two sounds. Otherwise, the native speaker of English will not know whether the Spanish speaker is saying *mayor* or *major*, *use* or *juice*, or *yellow* or *jello*.

The intial consonants in *boat* and *vote*

"b"-like and "v"-like sounds exist in Spanish, but they do not contrast with each other. Where one occurs, the other does not normally occur. Here again we have to keep clearly separated the matters of spellings and sounds. While Spanish *bote* and *vote* are commonly pronounced alike in unaffected speech outside of the classroom, English *boat* and *vote* must be consistently distinguished. In English they are contrastive units. A Spanish speaker may pronounce both *boat* and *vote* as *boat*, and he may pronounce the words *cupboard* and *covered* as *covered*.

Voicing contrasts: A number of the contrasts we have thus far taken up have involved the feature of voicing. As a contrastive feature, voicing is much more common in English than it is in Spanish, and therefore it is sometimes desirable to take up the feature for practice in multiple sound contrasts. Following are listed examples of the voiceless-voiced contrasts occurring in English:

pat and *bat*
time and *dime*
curl and *girl*
fine and *vine*
ether and *either*
sink and *zinc*
Aleutian and *allusion*
choke and *joke*

One other matter of contrast which is important to take up when dealing with the consonant sounds is the contrast involved in the nasals.

The final consonants in *sum*, *sun* and *sung*

Spanish /m/ occurs essentially in initial and medial positions, while English /m/ occurs finally as well. In spelling, Spanish has the final letter *m* in such a word as *album*, but the pronunciation of the final sound in such a word is often "ng" as in *sung*. The real problem that is involved in the distribution of Spanish /m/ is that, in English, Spanish speakers often hear and produce final English /m/ as /n/ or "ng." Spanish speakers, then, may have difficulty in distinguishing between sets of words such as *whim*, *win*, *wing*, *simmer*, *sinner*, *singer*, and *drive 'em (drive them)*, *drive-in (movie) and driving*.

The consonant sounds /p/, /t/, /k/

The English /p/, /t/, and /k/ sounds cause little or no difficulty on the recognition level. When a Spanish speaker pronounces English /p/, the English speaker may interpret it as /b/ if the sound is not properly aspirated in words such as *pin*, *pat*, and *pan*. This is true to some extent for English /t/ and /k/, though perhaps not to the same extent because of less aspiration with /t/ and /k/. English /p/ and /k/ are articulated at approximately the same points in the mouth as Spanish /p/ and /k/, while with English /t/ the tongue touches the upper tooth ridge rather than the back of the upper teeth as does Spanish /t/.

In addition to problems of hearing and producing individual sounds in English which may be produced differently or may not occur in Spanish at all, we have still another problem related to sounds which is also important. This problem involves the sequences in which the consonant sounds occur. These sequences of sounds, called consonant clusters, are a prime source of difficulty for the Spanish speaker using English because of the wide variety of combinations possible in English as compared with the relatively few combinations possible in Spanish.

The following list of clusters will usually present special problems.

/sp-/ spin	/fy-/ few
/st-/ stay	/hy-/ huge
/sk-/ sky	/my-/ mute
/sf-/ sphere	/sl-/ slow
/sm-/ small	/spy-/ spew
/sn-/ snow	/sky-/ skew
/Θw-/ thwart	/skw-/ squall
/Θr-/ three	/spr-/ spring
/sr-/ shrink	/str-/ string
/py-/ pure	/skr-/ scratch
/ky-/ cure	/spl-/ split

The fact that English has more than twice as many initial consonant clusters as Spanish is reason to suspect that we can anticipate cluster difficulty with Spanish speakers as they learn English. When we look at clusters in final position in the two languages, we can be sure there is a problem. As we turn to Spanish, we find that we have none at all, except those which occur in borrowed words. This means that the total body of final consonant clusters is a potential problem for the Spanish speaker in his pronunciation development. Not only does Spanish lack consonant clusters in final position, but it has only a few consonants that end words even as single consonants. These are /n/, /h/, /s/, /r/, /l/, and /d/, as in *hablan, reloj, hablas, hablar, platanal,* and *ciudad.* There are in addition to these a few borrowed words such as *ballet, club,* and *coñac* which lengthen the list somewhat. We have reason to expect pronunciation difficulties at least in the initial stages with final single consonants as in:

cap	*pick*	*breath*
cab	*pig*	*breathe*
church	*knife*	*brush*
judge	*leave*	*rouge*
some	*this*	
	these	

As our students begin to acquire more vocabulary and as they learn to add various suffixes, we can expect many of the following clusters to present problems:

Sample clusters produced within simple forms

help	hard	length
belt	curve	width
milk	arm	depth
wasp	barn	next
test	girl	glimpse
ask	act	sixth
tax	left	burnt
heart	sand	thirst
scarf	once	world
barb	camp	twelfth

Sample clusters produced by adding suffixes

stopped	robbed	beds
laughed	lived	seems
watched	seemed	cleans
washed	filled	things
stops	caused	lives
helped	works	carved
camped	asks	turned
clasped	ants	changed
worked	tests	holds
asked	acts	turns

Thus far we have used the terms "phoneme" and "phonemic" in reference to the sound units in a language. There are, however, other contrastive features of the sound system which are sometimes phonemes, or phonemic. In languages such as English and Spanish, in which the stress pattern may vary from word to word, we react differently to given sound sequences according to how the syllables are stressed. In Spanish, for example, we distinguish between *cántara, cantara, and cantará.* In a similar fashion in English, we know that *óbject* is one word and *objéct* is another. This difference in stress pattern, accompanied by vowel changes, is one of the features by which we distinguish between nouns and verbs in English. We have a similar pattern of contrast between adjectives and verbs, for example in words such as *séparate* and *sèparàte.* We may notice that in the case of *óbject* and *objéct* the strongest stress falls on a different syllable, while in the case of *séparate* and *sèparàte,* the strongest stress in the same but a weaker stress is given to the last syllable of the verb. Differences such as these make it clear that stress is a feature to concern us as we deal with the materials to be mastered.

In addition to the matter of loudness, or stress, we must also consider the way in which the voice rises and falls as we talk. These risings and fallings of the voice, or pitch changes, as they occur in English have been analyzed and it has been found that there are four distinctive pitch levels.

(very high)	the	tea cher
(high)		
(mid)		
(low)	the	school

These pitch levels are relative and should not be correlated with absolute pitch, as in music. Further, the pitch levels and range of particular individuals will vary according to sex and age.

The "very high" pitch level is commonly associated with surprise or strong emotion and "high" pitch level with emphasis. The "mid" pitch level is commonly associated with the unstressed beginning of a word group or sentence. The "low" pitch level is generally associated with the end of matter-of-fact statements. Various combinations of these pitch levels tend to reflect specific attitudes as they are applied to given sound sequences, but they are not tied to specific grammatical structures. For example, the sentences

Are	you	go ing?	Are	you going?

have two different meanings. In the first sentence, the "mid-high-low" intonation contour might be interpreted as being more matter of fact, while the second might be considered to be more polite. Similarly, in the sentences

You are go ing. You are going.

the first combination of pitches indicates a simple statement of fact, while the second indicates surprise or disbelief on the part of the speaker.

Turning to the problems of the learner, there seems to be a general problem stemming from the tendency of Spanish intonation to rise higher than English intonation and to rise in situations where English intonation falls. A Spanish speaker, for example, who says

Are you go ing?

gives the impression that he is surprised or indignant, when, as a matter of fact, he is simply asking for information. The common notion that Spanish speakers always talk as if they were excited no doubt stems from this tendency to rise to a pitch level that is interpreted as "very high" pitch level, which is used sparingly by most native speakers of English.

Another feature of the sound system closely related to intonation and stress in pause, or as it is more commonly called, juncture.

Commonly used examples of the one type of juncture are *night rate* with the pause between the /t/ and the /r/, and *nitrate* with the pause before the /t/. Another such pair is *ice cream* and *I scream*. This latter pair is the basis for the childhood conundrum

I scream. You scream. We all scream for ice cream.

As we say this sentence rapidly, we tend to confuse our placement of plus juncture and as a result have ambiguity.

The last element we shall deal with in our consideration of the English sound system is rhythm, and we shall limit ourselves to a simple statement of the characteristics of rhythm in Spanish and in English. Spanish rhythm is what is called syllable-timed rhythm, which means that the time given to each syllable is relatively uniform. In such a rhythm the time between the syllables with primary stress is determined by the number of syllables. In contrast with Spanish syllable-timed rhythm, English has what is called stress-timed rhythm. In English rhythm, the time between syllables with primary stress tends to be relatively uniform, even though we increase or decrease the number of syllables. The sentences below as marked for stress suggest the basic difference between English and Spanish rhythm:

There wás an old lády who líved in a shóe.
(English rhythm)

Thére wás án óld lády whó líved ìn á shóe.
(Spanish rhythm)

Although rhythm as a feature of the language is on a level different from that of phonemic units of stress, pitch, and juncture which we have been considering, it is, nonetheless, a characteristic of English which, if not produced in the English speaker's manner, will combine with other types of interference from Spanish and leave the non-native speaker of English with an accent. And accents attract attention to the language itself rather than to the message being communicated.